FREE SOCIETY

ENTERED AT SAN FRANCISCO POSTOFFICE AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER.

An Exponent of Anarchist-Communism: Holding that Equality of Opportunity alone Constitutes Liberty; that in the Absence of Monopoly Price and Competition Cannot Exist, and that Communism is an Inevitable Consequence.

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TO NATURE.

I stand before thee silent and amazed,
Transported with delight, and filled with awe,
For on thy splendors, Nature, I have gazed,
And scanned the secrets of thy changeless law.
The overarching heavens are spread above,
The earth revolves in harmony below,
And in their midst stand I, all wrapt in love,
Flushed with their aspect's life-inspiring glow.

When from the hills thou smilest unto me,
From azure skies and clouds of wondrous hue,
All my emotions then flow forth to thee,
Who dost my heart with such deep love endue.
And wells of music from my bosom gush,
When I behold thee, infinite and fair;
Forth from my body all the pulses rush,
To meet the fondlings of thy ambient air.

And when soft spring, awakening, overfloods
The earth with melody, and love, and light;
When gentle zephyrs kiss the opening buds,
Wafting their odors on the tranquil night;
When all the streams gush from the sunlit rocks,
And through the vales their peaceful passage trace,—
Then my wild heart, in thee rejoicing, locks
All thy creations in my warm embrace.

How I was humbled in my foolish pride,—
When, in the haste of my untrammeled zeal,
I saw before me all thy wonders glide,
And dared to break Eternity's dark seal!
How thou hast chastened and made me wise,
To be content in solitude, alone,
To smile at human sorrow, and to rise
Above the world, on thought's eternal throne.

Why should I tremble at the quick decay
Of youth's full bloom, and manhood's ample strength?
Why should I fear the fast approaching day,
When Life's short thread shall have run out its length?
To thee, sweet Nature, I shall then return
To mingle ever with thy radiant spheres,
And thy domain shall be the glorious urn
To keep my dust through all succeeding years.

BASIL DAHL.

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THE PROPAGANDA AND THE CONGRESS.

(Read before the organizing committee of the Anarchist congress, Paris.)

COMRADES AND FRIENDS,—I have learned that the assistance received from the comrades in America and England in behalf of our congress, has not been very encouraging. I hope this has not led you to lose faith in the American or English Anarchistic movement, or that you have concluded the comrades in those countries are inactive or indifferent.

I have just finished an eight months' propaganda tour in America, having delivered 210 lectures, visited 60 cities, and addressed from 50,000 to 60,000 people, and a four months' tour in England and Scotland, which, although not as successful as the former, yet enables me to give you the assurance that the comrades, at least the English speaking of America and England, are heart and soul with you in your undertaking of the coming congress, and that they will assist you both materially and morally. The reason why you have heard so little from them so far is due to the various difficulties we have to deal with in the United States and Great Britain.

I shall try to give you an idea of how we stand in both countries just now, so that you may better understand our hard struggle. To begin with America, let me say: I am quite sure that many of you know more or less about the movement, I mean the Anarchist movement of the Ameriran people, not the foreigners, (for although the Italian, Spanish, French, Bohemian and Jewish Anarchists are larger and stronger in numbers, yet they are of no importance inasmuch as we must have the Americans interested in our philosophy, if we wish to succeed in the establishment of a free society in the United States), still you only know about it through our papers, and because of that you may not be aware of the fact that the American movement is yet in its infancy, not older than five or six years. Up to that period the movement was in the hands of the foreign speaking element, who themselves were either mostly Revolutionists only, or Anarchists by name, and Social Democrats in their tendencies. Only since the first issue of The Firebrand, in Oregon, seized by the authorities, and now published under the name of Free Society, in San Francisco, have we begun to make headway among the American people.

The best proof of my statement you will find in the fact that American trades unions, social and literary clubs, ethical and philosophical societies, no longer look upon us as bomb-throwers, wild beasts, drunkards, or uncombed and unwashed tramps, (this idea having been manufactured by our enemies, and their tool, the daily press), but meet us friendly, invite our lecturers and listen with interest to the exposition of the philosophy of Anarchist-Communism.

However, the American Anarchists not being numerous, and living in the far west, such as Colorado, Texas, and California, it will be extremely difficult for them to raise 1500 francs ($300) to send a delegate to the congress, (it may even cost more than 1500 francs). But we have not abandoned the idea of sending one yet. Comrade Peter Kropotkin has recently sent an article to Free Society, explaining the importance of the congress (this being absolutely necessary, as some of the German Anarchists in America have opened a crusade against the sending of a delegate, and have denounced the congress as parliamentarian), and I shall soon have an article in the same journal proposing some of our ablest comrades as delegates, at the same time opening up a subscription to raise the necessary sum, and with the assistance of the foreign speaking comrades, especially the Jewish Anarchists, who are the strongest and most active, we hope to send a delegate from America. If, however, we fail in our aim, we have decided to send reports about our propaganda, and the general outlook for our ideas at large. Comrade William Holmes, James Morton, Carl Nold, and others, have begun to work out reports for California, Colorado, Texas, Missouri, Illinois, Michigan, Pennsylvania, New York, etc.

In England, the comrades have formed what is called a Congress Group, consisting of members of Freedom Group, including Comrade Kropotkin, Tscherkesoff, Tschaikoffsky and others. This group, with Comrade Charles, recently liberated from nine years hell in an English prison, as secretary, is in communication with groups of a similar nature in Leeds, Glasgow, and other cities for the purpose of raising funds for the congress, and working out reports. Leeds has already raised 300 francs, and the group has prospects of raising more. In all, you may expect at least six delegates from England.

At present, the comrades in England must pay all their attention to getting up meetings, demonstrations, and manifestoes against the most cruel, brutal, inhuman, unjust and dastardly war, brought about by a gang of large thieves and money-mongers, and sanctioned by the insatiable monster—government, against a handful of brave, courageous farmers, who are fighting like lions for their independence and liberty. The first large protest meeting was held February 20, and I can assure you that a London meeting has not seen as much enthusiasm and honest indignation for a long time.

As Anarchists it is our main aim to oppose and fight every form of injustice and oppression, and because of that, I hope you will join with me and the English comrades in the most vigorous protest against the cold blooded murder of the admirable Boer fighters by the English army, backed by robbers like Chamberlain, Cecil Rhodes, Milner, and other English capitalists who are anxious to get the gold mines in the Transvaal, over the bleeding and quivering bodies of the Boers and their families.

Down with all form of injustice; long live our love of independence and Anarchy! EMMA GOLDMAN.

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A FEW POINTERS ON COMMERCIALISM.

This is a commercial age. Commerce is king—a despot, a Nero. Everything is in the market to be bought and sold. The earth and appurtenances, including mankind, living and dead, are "handled" for profit. The simple exchange of commodities for mutual benefit of the persons making the trade, has grown into the monster, commerce, or exchange for gain. In a system of exchange, the object of which is gain, the person to whom the gains accrue, acquire ascendency in proportion to his profits over the person who loses, and this enables him to demand premiums and to continue his exactions indefinitely. In commerce, to prey upon the weak is lawful, and the smart man, the one who purrs his victim into the belief that it is the will of Providence that he should be devoured, is "successful."

Exchange of labor or of labor's products, when for mutual advantage, is co-operation; but commerce is one of the many varieties of slavery with which we are afflicted. It has long been our custom to speak of chattel slavery only, as slavery, and infer that all other forms of servitude were freedom; but the inference will not bear the weight of investigation.

Suppose two persons discover that by working together they can produce more than by working separately. When the job is finished, if one should say to the other: "I lifted more than you and I claim two thirds of the product. You couldn't have made a third as much, had you been alone," or "I thought of doing it this way. Brains should count for something. By right the extra product is mine," would the claims be just? In a co-operative movement, in which many persons engage, the impossibility of measuring the exact amount of brain or muscle to be expended by every individual will be readily seen, consequently the product cannot be divided according to ability nor to the amount of work performed, and as the union of forces should be for the benefit of all, "to each according to his needs" would be the most equitable division.

But profit to the individual is the acknowledged basis of our present system of co-operation,—if by any stretch of the imagination commercialism can be made to take on even a semblance of co-operation. It is, to be sure, co-operation after a clumsy fashion of the workers. The manipulators of the system, the "leaders," pocket the proceeds. The laborers must be deceived, so they will permit this to be done, therefore certain intricate business processes, that are quite beyond the comprehension of the mediocre mind, are made use of. As the wits of the "herd" become sharpened by constant grinding, new machinery is fitted to the original plant, and the disturbing element, which pointed a threatening finger at the system, supposing a change has been made to better its condition, subsides and again "peace and prosperity" reign supreme. The use of this machinery, though necessary for the maintenance of "trade," becomes senseless and burdensome when the end striven for is the welfare of the whole people. There is the endless bookkeeping; the retailing of small quantities of goods; the labor of printing the limitless advertisements of all things, good or bad—commercialism covers everything; manufacturing of money and stamps, the supporting of consuls and the general fussing of the national government, to say nothing of that of the county.

The profit system allows a person to accumulate more products than he has use for and guarantees him the power to say, "This is mine; I can do nothing with it, but neither shall you, unless you give me ten, fifty, a hundred per cent more labor or labor value in return than was required in its production." The master said to the slave, "You are mine;

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Anarchy.—A social theory which regards the union of order with the absence of all direct government of man by man as the political ideal; absolute individual liberty.—Century Dictionary.

NOTE AND COMMENT.

Comrade Kropotkin's suggestion to entertain expressions of opinion from comrades regarding the subjects to be discussed and actions to be taken at the forthcoming Paris revolutionary congress is timely and Free Society is anxious to have all comrades submit their ideas as soon as possible.

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I do not think Comrade Holmes has been misunderstood, for that we will have no use for lawyers under Anarchy is self-evident, and it is under prevailing conditions that I am opposed to Anarchist judges, juries, policemen, hangmen, and other equally praiseworthy vocations. If a comrade tells me that he intends to apply for the job of a policeman or hangman in order to improve his miserable existence, I can understand his action and, although regretting his weakness, will only deplore his apostasy without publicly criticizing him as an Anarchist, because he is none. But when he tries to make me believe that his attitude is to promote the Anarchist movement, then I protest against such pretense, for it are those who *are consistent* that revolutionize society and not those who compromise with their enemies. Unfortunately we are all of a more or less cowardly and servile character and are only too willing to submit to all sorts of impositions when we are menaced to be disturbed because we attempte l to walk erect for once, it is true; but let us deplore and discourage inconsistency rather than encourage inconsistency and cowardice, as Holmes, Addis and Brukk actually do. A. I.

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By all means let us have a re-awakening as to the purpose of our movement and the best way to promote its success.

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The question of methods is a vitally important one, and I should like to see a general discussion, or better still, a symposium of ideas in Free Society by advocates of the different lines of policy.

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Above all let us keep ourselves free from intolerance and bitterness in our criticism of each other. Just criticism, even though it be severe, is wholesome. When I err I want my friends to inform me of the fact. I hope the time will never come when I shall be ashamed to admit a fault or refuse to mend it.

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I wish to inform Susan Patton, Kate Austin and other friends who persist in misunderstanding my position anent lawyers that I shall have no more use for lawyers under Anarchy than they will. I simply contend that as long as we must have lawyers, judges and juries it were better they should be Anarchists, then there would surely be less probability of a judicial murder when an Anarchist got into trouble. I hope this makes my meaning clear.

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Here is the way Louis F. Post has "Business Ethics" sized up in a recent issue of his paper, The Public:

> Few grocers would expect in these days to prosper by "sanding" their sugar. Shrewd commercial travelers hesitate now to overstock their confiding customers with goods. All the more primitive methods of injustice in business have become well-nigh obsolete under the influence of a recognition of the truth in the maxim that "honesty is the best policy."
>
> It is in more subtle ways that injustice now dominates business affairs. Though business men do not "sand their sugar," they do seek and secure privileges under the law which enable them to exact in trade more service than they give.

Mr. Post must be extremely fortunate in his dealings with business men. To those of us who are daily victims of the sharks in trade a large part of the above sounds far-fetched, to say the least. Mr. Post, as a single tax advocate claims to have "seen the cat," but it is evident he has not seen all the "cat." As long as the profit system prevails (and I believe Mr. Post denies profit) business men will continue to "exact in trade more service than they give," whatever the laws may be. The fact of the matter is we are robbed and cheated by small as well as large dealers in every branch of business, and the cut-throat system makes swindlers out of men who really desire to be honest. The only standard of "business ethics" which prevails is that upon which the highwayman takes his stand.

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The present English-Boer war is said to come under the appellation of "civilized warfare." The Boers, while regarded as rebels by the English, are treated as honorable foes. Their flags of truce are respected, those who are taken prisoners are treated humanely, their wounded are often succored and relieved, and they are permitted to send out burying parties to bury their dead. The bravery of General Joubert, who has just died, is commended by the English press, and when General Cronje surrendered recently the English commander received him as one gentleman meets another, with a hand-shake. Contrast this method of warfare with that practiced by the soldiers of Thiers during the Commune. The Communards were not only regarded as rebels, but were treated like wild beasts, whom it was a duty and a pleasure to exterminate. Their flags of truce were fired upon; their ambulance wagons were cannonaded and the nurses ravished and murdered before their eyes. Many who were captured were tortured in the public streets of Versailles, and many were shot in cold blood. Their sick and wounded were dragged from the hospital beds and put to death on the spot. The officers of the Commune taken in battle (none of them surrendered) were shot with the greatest despatch, and for a week, men, women and children were hunted as though they were ferocious wolves and slaughtered by wholesale. And it was not because these slayers were Frenchmen. It would have been the same in England, in Gemany or in the United States. The Boers are fighting for national independence; they do not seek to abolish the capitalist system. The Communards fought for international economic and political independence and for the downfall of capitalism. This makes all the difference in the world, and tells the whole story. They are good haters, these capitalists, and they are not such soft hearted fools as we are. It will be well to remember these things in the coming time.

W. Holmes.

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ACROSS THE CONTINENT.

II.

NEW YORK TO PHILADELPHIA.

My trip from Providence to New York included nothing of special significance. On arriving at the great metropolis, I established headquarters with E. C. Walker, 254 West 143rd St. I must pass over many personal matters, which were of much more interest to me than they would be to comrades in general. Previous visits to New York had given me a large acquaintance with the radical element, whom it was a pleasure to meet again.

New York is an immense catch-all. The largest city in the land, it receives and partly assimilates the most diverse elements. Nothing turns its stomach. It is a city of turbulance and continual movement. We have many comrades in the city; but they seem to find a difficulty in getting together. Still, at times there is great activity, especially among the Jewish comrades.

Only two meetings were arranged in New York—a lecture before the Manhattan Liberal Club on "How to Defend Free Thought," and a mass meeting, at which I spoke on "War," and comrade Emma Goldman gave an account of her just completed tour. My New York visit ended with a social, at which a number of comrades were present, held at our Emma's rooms.

On to Philadelphia! I had visited this city in the spring, and felt a warm friendship for many comrades there. It is a city which contrasts strongly with many others. Although large in extent, and the third city Philadelphia is popularly regarded as a very sleepy place. While this is not wholly true, it certainly does appear much more quiet and orderly than any other large city I have visited. It is the easiest city in the country to find one's way about in, as its streets are broad, cross each other for the most part at right angles, and are named and numbered on a most scientific plan. It is by no means dead in business enterprise. Wanamaker's big department store represents the supreme height yet attained in that direction. To the outward eye, it is among the crowning achievements of modern industry; but two of our comrades, employed there, give less glowing accounts of the inner workings of the mighty machine. The cost of living is unusually low in Philadelphia. Cheaper restaurants are to be found there than in almost any other city, and the price of food, in particular, is less than I have found it elsewhere.

Philadelphia is a city of eminent respectability. The strictly native population is wholly predominent. But this must not be thought to be an ideal city. On the contrary, it has few equals in political corruption. Its water is filthy, and almost undrinkable, although the people are continually mulcted in enormous sums, under the pretext of purifying it. They have a City Hall, which has been twenty years in building, and has cost the people something like a million dollars a year. It is still unfinished. A leading Pennsylvania paper recently declared that the people of Philadelphia had proved themselves unfit for self government, as they had not had an honest election in many years. Every political campaign is attended with the grossest scandals. In short, government there is the same rascally thing it is everywhere found to be.

It has been my good fortune to meet many of the most delightful people in Philadelphia that I have seen anywhere. There is a wholeheartedness, a fraternal spirit, a large tolerance, a frank openness, a cordial hospitality, which makes Philadelphia a peculiarly attractive city to visiting comrades. I stopped, this time, with comrade George Brown, 202 Emery St., whose whole soul is in the cause. He is a most genial companion, with a warm, human heart, but rigidly uncompromising in his devotion to Anarchist principles.

I find Philadelphia comrades in advance of most others on the sex question. It is there discussed with an openness found in few other cities. Some are monogomists, some varietists: but all mutually tolerant. Those who openly live their convictions do not find themselves socially ostracized, but are more respected than the trucklers to the Church and State superstitions. In practical living, the Philadelphia comrades are in many respects a model to those of other cities.

There are several societies for lectures and discussion of current questions, the best and most vigorous of them being the Ladies' Liberal League, the Friendship Liberal League, and the Ethical Fellowship. This last is presided over by Horace Traubel, the editor of the Conservator, and one of the best fellows in the world. I know only two men I have ever met to whom I have felt drawn with so warm a personal attachment—Gustav P. Wikrell of Boston, and Walter L. Sinton of Chicago. These, with Walt Whitman and Edward Carpenter, make up a quintette, exemplifying in the highest degree the spirit of brotherhood. Horace has no use for authoritarianism or conventionality of any kind, and is singularly emancipated from all forms of prejudice. He was a warm friend and admirer of Walt Whitman, and cared for him during the closing period of his life. He has a large and valuable collection of Whitmania. In all of these societies, the radical element is especially strong; and a genuine intellectual hospitality is shown to all subjects, religious, economic, social, or political. The Ladies' Liberal League is particularly noted for its many fearless and able discussions of sexual problems. The speaker had need come well prepared, however; for full discussions follow each address; and there are numerous keen and well-trained debaters in these bodies. I was called on to speak before each of them, also another organization, which exists mainly for the discussion of religious questions. One social was tendered by the comrades to me, and another to Comrade Solotaroff of New York, both of them pleasant affairs, held at the restaurant of Comrade Levin, a rendezvous well known to comrades. Some of the Jewish comrades can always be found there; and files of the principal Anarchist papers in English, Jewish, and German languages are constantly on hand. Such a headquarters would be a good thing in every centre. There should be a known place in each city, where visiting comrades could always find friends and our papers, and learn what is going on. In most cities, such a plan is feasible, with slight trouble or expense. I hope to enlarge on this suggestion later on. James F. Morton, Jr.

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ONLY BLOCKHEADS GO TO WAR.

"What, speaking in quite unofficial language, is the net purport and upshot of war? To my own knowledge, for example, there dwell and toil in the British village of Dumdrudge usually some five hundred souls. From these there are successively selected, during the

French war say, 30 able-bodied men. Dumdruge, at her own expense, has suckled and nursed them, she has, not without difficulty and sorrow, fed them up to manhood, and even trained them to crafts, so that one can weave, another build, another hammer, etc. Nevertheless, amid much weeping and swearing, they are selected, all dressed in red, and shipped away, at the public expense, some two thousand miles, or, say, only to the south of Spain, and fed there till wanted. And now, to that same spot of Spain, are 30 similar French artizans, from a French Dumdrudge, in like manner wending, till at last, after infinite effort, the two parties come into actual juxtaposition; and 30 stands fronting 30, each with a gun in his hand. Straightway the word "fire" is given, and they blow the souls out of one another; and, in place of 60 brisk men, useful craftsmen, the world has 60 dead carcasses, which it must bury and anew shed tears for. Had these men any quarrel? Busy as the devil is, not the smallest. They lived far enough apart; were the entirest strangers—nay, in so wide a universe there was even unconsciously, by commerce, some mutual helpfulness between them. How then? Simpleton! their governors had fallen out; and instead of shooting one another, had the cunning to make these poor blockheads shoot."—Carlyle.

A FEW POINTERS ON COMMERCIALISM.

Concluded from page 1.

work for me." Commerce says to the "free" laborer, "This is mine, work for it." In the summing up, what is the difference between the two systems of slavery? The mode of procedure only.

Commerce cannot thrive without markets, so we have a produce market, money market, labor market—not like the old ones, with the auction block where the wares were "knocked down" to the highest bidder, but employment bureaus, and when these are full the surplus labor wanders hither and thither and is a "menace to society" and an ever present protest against the scourge of overproduction.

If commerce be so monstrous an evil, why have the people borne with it so long? The glitter of the "prizes" held ever before the eyes of the multitude has dazzled and blinded them, no doubt, "The office of rabbi," says Cunningham Geikie, speaking of the olden time among the Jews, "was open to all (men), and this of itself secured the favor of the nation to the order, just as the same democratic feeling strengthened the Romish Church in the middle ages." This "same democratic feeling," when not too democratic, when kept in certain channels, has spared the lives of other abnormal fungus growths upon the body of society. "Any school boy may become president," has done its part in bracing up a constitution and system of laws copied from those employed in the English constitutional monarchy. A few trivial changes were made much of, and the name American added for a prop, and if we have not a monarchy we have inherited scores of its diseases. Any young man, if industrious, "capable," "a rustler," may become the possessor of millions. Democratic feeling again, and do we not have countless examples in full array, and do we fail to point to them with pride? John Jacob Astor by industry and thrift accumulated a few trinkets and shrewdly palmed them off—on his equals?—no! on the Indians for furs. These furs he traded to the laborers who manufactured the trinkets?—lost again! We all suspect that was not the way of it. This commerce is an intricate business as I have said before; but it has in stock a maxim quite easy to understand and upon which the public mind is constantly fed: "An even exchange is no robbery." Undoubtedly J. J. Astor held strictly to this maxim. At least he was not robbed: we have substantial evidence of that to this day; for the man's estate—real estate—lives after him, to be administered upon. Astor was not robbed; he gained wealth and fame, left his children "independent," and now the democratic feeling comes uppermost once more, for who would not like to provide well for his children? To be independent, in common phraseology, is to be so situated that you may be able to procure the best there is in the market of food, clothing, service, etc., at all times—of course, you pay for it.

To be independent! the dream we poor misled mortals have dreamed and have toiled, endured privations, all for the hope that was in us that it might some day be fulfilled. Beautiful dreams indeed! But the colors have faded marvelously since we see that its fulfilment under commercialism means the transition from servitude to mastery. If we would be really independent we must raise and manufacture all the goods we find needful, be hermits in earnest, for when we become independent to this extent, we shall probably spend little time in social intercourse. Besides, social intercourse would lessen our independence, for thoughts might be exchanged. Thoughts constitute no small part of our present "stock in trade" and upon them commerce sets a price and lays a heavy hand.

It "is human nature," I have been told, for one to try to get the best of the bargain. The truth about the matter is, the legitimate fruit of the commercial system is corruption, and we are deceived when we think the corruption to be human nature. The system is the generator of avarice and strife. It divides the people into two lots, masters and slaves. They cannot escape being one or the other, and both positions are degrading to the persons occupying them. Instead of providing comforts for the present, we contend with our neighbors; scrimp and hoard that we may not be paupers in our old age. The differing opinions of the members of the household concerning the management of business details, cause dissensions. The heirs wrangle over the savings of their kin. We produce too much, as markets are overstocked, and at the same time thousands go in rags and starve. One generation does the work and fights a war and succeeding generations are called upon to "foot the bill." Amidst all this inconsistent turmoil we prate of the superiority of man over the lower animals, of brotherly love and of peace in the future world.

We are slaves, yet we know it not; slaves to a commercial system that we have been burdened with so long, we believe it a part of ourselves. We have fought for freedom, yet cling to our masters and call them "servants," "men of influence." We submit ourselves to other wills, other consciences than our own, yet call ourselves a "free people"! Shall we still "bow the knee"? No! The world of learning, all that we know or surmise, must be free, and not hedged about as now, and the gates swung open to him alone who can pay the toll. We shall discover that if we would live in comfort we must work together—co-operate. We shall choose the work for which we are best suited, and labor with those who are personally agreeable to us. We shall see that to force another to our will is despotism; to yield to the will of another is serfdom. We shall find it true that trade in a community results in the weaker cringing to the stronger, and that in barter or commerce between sections or countries, the oppression continues upon a larger scale. We shall know that the Church and State, fattened as they are upon gifts, tithes and taxes, make obeisance to the "powers that be," with their money, usury, rent, and "corners." We shall learn that the exchange of labor, of ideas, of ministrations is needful for the happiness of mankind, and to insure this happiness the exchange must be made "without money and without price." In the new co-operative society every form of commerce must be annihilated.—Viroqua Daniels.

A QUESTION OF TACTICS.

The article by Henry Addis on "Methods and Practice" in No. 257 is pertinent and timely, and whether we endorse the sentiments of the writer or not, there is certainly food for serious thought and room for an honest difference of opinion.

If our purpose as Anarchists is to arouse the antagonism of all who do not immediately accept our views, by calling them names and questioning their sincerity, or to set ourselves up as a persecuted sect by courting martyrdom, or to openly defy all authority and the guardians of conventionalism, or to be known as consistent, shining lights of a misunderstood and abused philosophy—if these are the principal reasons for our being Anarchists, then the policy of open, deliberate warfare against the powers that be followed by most Anarchists is all right.

But there is room for a different opinion. It is contended that the persecutions of our enemies which we invite largely by our own conduct causes us to separate ourselves from the rest of the world, and our usefulness as propagandists is thereby seriously impaired. We meet each other at our little gathering places, listen approvingly to violent denunciations of capitalism, exchange ideas and split hairs with one another, and become veritable groups for "mutual admiration." These methods, it is said, result in nothing of value to our cause beyond a little cheap notoriety, and are but sorry propaganda at the best. It is claimed that the chief business of Anarchists is to strengthen the movement by all means in our power, and that whatever conduces to that end is just and right. That we should associate freely with conservative people, even in the churches and in politics. That we are justified in levying upon the enemy for funds to carry on the propaganda; that we should use all the weapons of capitalism to fight capitalism; that we should work quietly, insidiously, secretly among our fellows by methods of diplomacy and strategy, and seek to undermine existing institutions, rather than attempt to batter them down by bold declarations, fierce denunciations and open warfare. That in short, we should oppose cunning, and craft, and power and unlimited wealth by making these weapons and practices, so far as it is possible, our own, the end—the triumph of Anarchism—justifying the means used.

I confess that the latter "methods and practice" appear to me the most practical and to promise the best results, although, from conscientious squeamishness and a desire to be "consistent" I have heretofore used them but sparingly. For years I was an advocate of the open warfare policy, and practiced it to my very great detriment. I see no reason why a man or woman may not remain an earnest, sincere Anarchist while pursuing the more secret tactics. It is simply a question of methods, and I believe it is only this bugbear of "consistency" that prevents more of our comrades from employing such tactics. Of course it would seem the height of inconsistency and hypocrisy for us to join the churches or other religious societies, to mix up with politics, to take our Anarchism into benevolent societies, to use the rich and the powerful as means to further our purposes, to sit on juries in order to defeat the ends of capitalistic justice rather than draw our virtuous skirts about us and loudly proclaim that we are Anarchists, to invade the domain of the bar and the bench in order that we may thoroughly acquaint ourselves with the legal machinery and institutions under which we are governed, and weaken them by becoming ourselves the operators. All this may be inconsistent with our former attitude as Anarchists, but the radical who conscientiously follows such "methods and practice" with a single view of strengthening the Anarchist movement is nevertheless consistent along this line, and is worthy of our highest regards.

Hitherto I have drawn the line at politics, although I can give no consistent reason for doing so, except that perhaps politics seem to engulf its followers more completely in the cesspool of corruption than any other of life's activities. But to be perfectly consistent with our highest ideals we should not only abjure politics, but we should refrain from engaging in business of any kind, we should abandon the professions, we should cease to be wage-slaves. This, at present, we cannot do. Let each of us therefore live up to our best attainable standard, invade no man's liberty, and use such methods for forwarding our great cause as seems to us right and proper as individuals.

WM. HOLMES.

For Boston.

The comrades of Boston and vicinity will hold an international meeting on Sunday, April 15, at 2:30 p. m. in Caladonia Hall, 45 Eliot St. The following questions are proposed for discussion:

I. Our propaganda in general, and during the summer in particular.
II. Financial report.
III. Turner's fund and Berkman's case.
IV. The International Anarchist Congress in Paris.

All comrades are invited to attend this meeting, which will be of most importance for combined efforts in the local propaganda.

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MONEY THE ROOT OF ALL EVIL.

The laws of a country make its government what it is, whether good or bad; and the condition of the people generally is the reflex of the laws by which they are governed. If the laws were founded on correct principles, which is correct knowledge, then the administration of those laws would be uniform and just to all. That government is bad and its laws vicious and unjust in which exists enforced idleness, the millionaire and the pauper. As these conditions do exist in all of our so-called civilized governments, it shows that they are all bad and should be abolished. But how can so righteous and necessary a reform be carried out? It cannot be done through hatred or envy of the rich, nor through vast combinations of labor, nor through the rising of the people in their might. It would not accomplish any permanent or general good; the poor would still be with us, and also the cause that has produced the effects complained of, as long as the people believe in the material value of money. This ignorant belief can only be overcome by a proper education, and as it has been intsilled into them from early childhood up, by every device that wicked and designing men of the exploiting class could resort to, it can be overcome in no other way. Now, do any of our reform papers attempt to to show the masses th absurdity of this belief? Do not they themselves believe in it? I think they do, and yet they talk of overthrowing governments and authority! The masses, laboring under this belief, will uphold both and make all schemes to overthrow government impossible.

Of all the horrid superstitions that have been handed down to us from the dark and remote ages, the belief that gold and silver make the only real money and that the redemption by them of paper money is a necessity, is the most blighting and desolating in its effect on the present and future welfare of mankind, as it has been in the past; and never can men walk erect, free and independent, as long as this belief enthralls them. This belief has taken away the money from the people and made them helpless and dependent; it has taken away their lands, their homes, their leisure and comforts, and has made of them toiling wage slaves, tramps, criminals, maniacs, and easy victims of the religious and political wiles of wicked and crafty men.

Anarchism, Socialism, Single Tax and Communism are but acute manifestations of discontent, brought about by the belief criticized above, and although in their ranks are many of the brightest scholars and the most fluent writers of the day, yet they do not reason well, for in this silly belief, which they do not combat, lies the root and power of all governments. Or can it be denied that the thrones of the old world and the so called republics of the new rest upon the bayonets held in the hands of moneyless men? J. P. Patterson.

COMMENT.

Friend Patterson seems to be sadly confused in his views regarding the ailment and remedy of society. Laws are in themselves invasive, consequently they can be founded on nothing else but "correct" or incorrect "principles" of invasion, nor can *any* law be "just to all." As Burke says: "Do not tell me of the abuses of government; the thing, the thing itself is the abuse." And when the people are intelligent enough to perceive that government is detrimental to the public welfare, they will also have the wisdom to abolish the causes which gave rise to governments and arbitrary standards of value and the medium of exchange—money. How it will be done? Let Emerson answer: "To educate the wise man the State exists, with the appearance of the wise man the State expires."

His utter lack of knowledge of Anarchist literature our friend exposes by his assertions that the Anarchists and Socialists do not combat and repudiate the idea of money, and I would advise him to read some of the books and pamphlets advertised in our book list, before he again attempts to criticize the attitude of the Anarchists toward the idea of money and value. Again and again it is pointed out in Free Society that Anarchism means free production and free consumption, an arrangement which excludes any medium of exchange whatsoever. A. I.

LAWYER ANARCHISTS.

Our comrades seem to be intensely worked up over the lawyer business. I think we could commit worse sins than that of being a lawyer and an Anarchist at the same time. In '86 it would have been a good thing for us, had we had a a few lawyers who were Anarchists; we would have had $100 per day more—during the time of that damnable farce—to give to the dependants of those men, instead of having to pay it to the attorney who was not grounded in our ethics, and maybe not a bit in sympathy with us.

I differ with my comrades in so far as I deny that to be a lawyer, or to marry, or in any way go into the enemies' camp on their terms, makes us necessarily Arnolds to the movement. I think it possible for Anarchists to do much good within, and it gives us radicals a securer feeling to know our own people are familiar with the ways and means of the opponent. To me it is no breach of Anarchist etiquette to be a lawyer, or to assume—when such be voluntary—the legal yoke of matrimony. The woman or man who possess the requisite intellect to recognize her or his own rights, need have no fear of marriage. It is only the "hoe" woman and man we tremble for.

I have little faith in the efficacy of a propaganda that howls at government like a child at a dog, though the dog be a block away, simply because it exists. As long as government doesn't get too gay with our physical and mental liberties, I say don't howl, for as Marx said, "It has sown the seed of its own dissolution."

Cases like Moore, Berrier, The Firebrand, etc., suggest that the Anarchist lawyer could do much good for the movement and the men in trouble, if he comes from our own ranks.

B. R. Tucker said, "Do not fight from within." I say do, if you can without sacrificing too much of your personality.

Bert F. Brukk.

Denver, Colo., 603 Charles Block.

COMMUNE CELEBRATION.

Sunday, March 18, the comrades in Boston, supplimented by many sympathizers, assembled to commemorate the event best known in history as the Commune of Paris.

Although the Commune was far from being an Anarchistic movement, except for its revolutionary character, it is a remarkable fact that on nearly every occasion it is left to the Anarchists to revive the memory of those brave men and women who fought and were sacrificed in the great struggle for human emancipation. As usual our class-conscious-scientific-revolutionary-Socialists gloried in their absence.

Comrade Cohn, of Brooklyn, N. Y., delivered the oration. No little was contributed to the success of the meeting by the Danish Chorus Brage and some of our Italian comrades who sang some beautiful songs and opera airs, which were followed by the clever recitations of some of the best poetry fitting the occasion, by two of our young girl comrades.

The audience, which was a selected crowd, showed their appreciation unreservedly during this part of the program. After collecting a few dollars for the Berkman case, we turned homeward with the thought to have remembered once more "our" dead. S.

The Letter-Box.

N. J., Waupaca, Wis.—M. O. received and pamphlets have been sent. The price for "Tables Turned" is rather high, but they cost us 30 cents. Thanks for clippings.

A. S., Cleveland.—Let it pass, friend. Whether John Most gave a witty illustration of heaven and hell or of Communism, makes very little difference.

M. M., Brooklyn, N. Y.—As comrade Viroqua Daniels is still sick abed and in need of financial aid, I turned the 50 cents over to her. S. will receive the paper anyhow. I agree with your friend: consistency ought to be encouraged. I regret to see such sentiments creeping up in our movement, and will combat them as long as I can.

RECEIPTS.

Please do not use private checks nor bank checks if you can avoid it.

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Wagner, 75c. Snellenberg, 60c Sergunas, 40c. Weiss, Schneider, Orcutt. Fingold, Finestone, each 50c Bosler, Meyers, Clarkson, Gordon, Stark, Leibowitz, Friedenthal, each 25c.

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Freie Arbeiter-Stimme, a Jewish weekly of 16 pages, an advocate of Anarchist Communism, appears regularly at 181 Madison St., New York City. Price, $1.50 per year.

Freedom, a monthly journal of Anarchist-Communism. Address: 7, Lambs Conduit Street London, W. C. England. Price 40 cents pe year, postpaid. Order from Free Society.

Progressive Thought, the oldest organ of the Labor Exchange movement. It is full of L. E news, gives co-operative facts and advocates the way out of hard times. Address: Olathe, Kans. Send for sample copies.

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The Free Commune. A magazine of Libertarian Thought. Published Quarterly by The Leeds Free Commnuist Group. Address: W. MacQueen, 79 Markham Ave., Harehills, Leeds, England

Vaccination, a journal of health, published monthly for the Anti-Vaccination Society of America. Tells the truth about vaccination. 1328 North 12th St., Terre Haute, Ind. Sample copy free.

Die Freie Gesellschaft, a Jewish monthly, containing 48 pages of original matter, an advocate of Anarchist-Communism, has been revived and will appear regularly. Well known writers, such as Dr. Solotaroff, Dr. Maryson, Leontieff, Katz, Ginsberg, J. Gordin, and others will be the principal contributors. Price $1 per year. Single copies 10 cents. Address: 12 Jefferson St, New York, N. Y.

For Pennsylvania.

All comrades of Western Pennsylvania that are anxious to distribute *Free Society* and the *Freiheit* among their acquaintances, can receive them free from the undersigned by request.

I have also the latest books and pamphlets published in Germany, England and America, for sale. H. Bauer.

Allegheny, 73 Springgarden.

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